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CASE WORK WITH UNATTACHED MEN IN THE FRED H. SEAVEY SETTLEMENT OF MORGAN MEMORIAL IN 1941

A Thesis

Submitted by

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis will deal with those unattached male clients of Morgan Memorial who are served directly by the Seavey Settlement for Men.

Staff members of Morgan Memorial have expressed two points of view with regard to the program of the Seavey Settlement. One view is that the Seavey Settlement should be considered definitely a religious mission, and that the offering of any of its services, beyond over night or emergency care, should be contingent upon the client's presence in various religious meetings, in the belief that the only possible solution to the problems of such a man lies in a religious conversion experience publicly witnessed.

A second point of view, no less "religious" in the minds of others, favors the case work process and its methods, as permitting the full use of the many resources of the Seavey Settlement, spiritual as well as material, aiming toward making a person "whole" again, without requiring immediate constant attendance at religious services, and a professed conversion, as a qualification for further service.

Inherent in the set-up, if adequately staffed, are all the resources needed to carry on a well balanced program of individualized service (case work). During 1941 an attempt was

made to include case work with a limited number of clients in the regular program.

This thesis undertakes to study the types of men served in the Seavey Settlement through an analysis of personal data covering 1011 of the 1221 different men registered in 1941; and to show some of the problems presented and the uses made of resources in treatment by studying case histories of some of the men with whom case work was done. It undertakes to throw more light on the advisability of supplementing the religious program of the Seavey Settlement with an adequate case work plan aimed at making full use of the splendid plant of the Seavey Settlement and the many resources available to it as a social agency.

The sources of the data are original registration cards, case records, and other agency records, supplemented by information gained by the writer in his position, during the past three years, as director of the Seavey Settlement for Men.

The year 1941 is the time covered in this study because on January 1, 1941, a new system of record keeping was installed which made it possible to know a great deal more about the men served than was known from previous records. The number of men included in the analysis of personal data is 1011 because that was the number of registration cards that were filled out completely enough to show the information needed to compile the tables shown in Chapter II. The eight cases used

as illustrations of the case work process were selected from the records of approximately 30 clients with whom a definite program of case work was followed sometime during the year 1941. No set formula was used in choosing the eight illustrations, nor was a formula used in selecting the individuals for case work during the year. Since the keeping of case records and much of the case work itself was additional to the required duties of the writer, chance and opportunity played an important part in determining those to whom the case work process was made available. The eight illustrations, however, are among those whose case records are most complete.

CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MORGAN MEMORIAL AND THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN

Morgan Memorial's legal name is "The Morgan Memorial Cooperative Industries and Stores, Inc." It is the original Goodwill Industry from which have sprung the 76 other local Goodwill Industries throughout the United States, represented in the organization known as the "National Association of Goodwill Industries."

Morgan Memorial had its beginnings in the local church organization known as "Morgan's Chapel" founded by the Reverend Henry Morgan, in 1863. The Reverend Edgar J. Helms, who came to Morgan Chapel as minister in 1895, started the salvage shop which grew into the Goodwill Industries. Since that time the Boston enterprise has branched out into many fields of social service. The Children's Settlement, the Seavey Settlement for Men, the Hayden Goodwill Inn for Boys, the Morgan Memorial Day Nursery, the Lucy Stone Home, the Eliza Henry Home, the Fresh Air Camps at South Athol, the Family Service department and the Church of All Nations are all components of the Morgan Memorial enterprise.

Morgan Memorial's program for unattached men has been housed in the Seavey Settlement building at 79 Shawmut Avenue,

since the building was completed in 1915. However, work with the unattached man extends back to the earliest days of the old Morgan Chapel. Dr. Helms recalls the days when "tramps" were invited in for Sunday morning breakfast and then had to remain behind locked doors for a preaching service. In speaking of his first Sunday at the old Morgan Chapel Dr. Helms says:

> Reverend King would not preach to empty pews and introduced the custom of feeding tramps in order to get an audience... . The Sunday morning before I came there were about four hundred men out for breakfast, and as usual they were locked in, so they had to remain to church. At my first service the next Sunday there were less than forty persons present. The tramps had heard there was no breakfast to be served.[1]

Dr. Helms was chaplain of the Charles Street Jail for many years and during that time Fred H. Seavey, then Sheriff of Suffolk County, became interested in Morgan Memorial and expressed a hope that some day he might be able to help financially. After Sheriff Seavey died, his sister, Mrs. David Floyd, gave a sum of money in his memory. This money was used to start a fund which later permitted the construction of the Seavey building, a seven story structure.

At the present time three floors and the basement are used exclusively for unattached men. The office and recreation room are in the basement, dormitories are located on the third and fourth floors and private rooms for clients are on the

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1 Edgar J. Helms, "Early History of Morgan Memorial," (Unpublished manuscript prepared for The Morgan Memorial Manual, now being made ready for printing. Boston, 1942).

fifth floor. At present there are beds for 51 men. A chapel is located on the street floor.

At the present time the work of the Seavey Settlement is supervised by a director, or "social secretary," who administers the general program. He is responsible for the operating personnel, the records, and case work, including the interviewing of clients, their assignment to employment and the formulation of plans of treatment. A chaplain is in charge of the religious work and the recreational program.

Prior to June of 1941 the clients of the Seavey Settlement were expected to attend 13 religious meetings per week. They were expected to attend the Goodwill chapel service each week day morning except Saturday; they were expected to attend morning service in the Church of All Nations each Sunday; a Sunday School class at noon; the Sunday evening service, a regular mid-week church service on Thursday evening, and gospel mission meetings in the Seavey chapel on the other nights of the week. A change of chaplains took place during the summer of 1941 and when the year's program began again in September, the number of services in the Seavey chapel was cut to two each week, so that at the present time a Seavey client is expected to attend ten religious meetings a week. According to copy prepared for the Morgan Memorial Manual, now being made ready for printing:

> The Seavey Settlement is definitely a religious enterprise. Most of its clients need religious treatment quite

as much as they need material and social care. It does not proselyte, but it does insist that its client attend religious services of his own denomination or those of Morgan Memorial if he has no other religious affiliation. A record is kept of his religious activities as carefully as is a record of his employment. While a resident of the Seavey Settlement each man is expected to:

1. Attend the Goodwill chapel service each week day, Monday through Friday.
2. Attend church service at the Morgan Memorial Church of All Nations Sunday morning, unless he goes to a church service of his own denomination.
3. Attend the Sunday evening church service.
4. Attend the Men's Brotherhood class each Sunday at 12 o'clock noon.
5. Attend the evening Midweek Service of the Church of All Nations.
6. Attend the gospel meetings in the Seavey Settlement chapel each Tuesday and Saturday evening.[2]

As a matter of fact, a record of the client's religious activities is not being kept at the present time, and no attempt to coerce attendance at meetings is being made, the present chaplain believing that forced attendance at ten religious services a week would be no true indication of healthy spiritual life.

At the present time about two-thirds of the resident clients attend the Seavey gospel meetings regularly. Refreshments are served after each meeting. A few men come in from the streets for these meetings. Slightly more than half the Seavey residents attend the Goodwill chapel services and the morning church service regularly.

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2 Geo. H. Huber, "The Seavey Settlement," (Unpublished manuscript prepared for The Morgan Memorial Manual now being made ready for printing. Boston, 1942).

In a large measure, the program of the Seavey Settlement is dependent upon the availability of work relief in the Goodwill Industries. Indeed it is that fact alone which enables the Seavey Settlement to offer more effective help than do the score of other "rescue missions" in the city, whose chief contact with the needy is in the gospel mission hall. This is not to be taken as disparagement of the gospel mission as such, but it is, of course, obvious that a resident plan of care including work relief, offers a longer contact with the possibility of its being more effective.

Any case worker who has seen his clients struggle desperately and unavailingly to find work, when work is badly needed as a therapeutic tool and economic asset, can appreciate what it means to have available, as another department in the same agency, a self-contained industry with employment for some 400 people, in which almost any client in need of a job can be placed at some type of work suited to his mental and physical qualifications. Within certain bounds, the number of employees in the Goodwill Industries at any one time depends upon the number of clients needing employment, rather than upon the industry's need for employees.

The purpose of an employment bureau in any organization is to provide manpower for an industry, which, in return, remunerates the individual for the service given; and the number employed is dependent upon the demand for the finished products. In a Goodwill Industry, the aim of the employment bureau is exactly the reverse. Its sole purpose is that of service to the handicapped individual; and,

in accordance with the numbers needing service, is the expansion of the industrial program.[3]

Unattached men may apply for aid at Morgan Memorial either at the employment office of the Goodwill Industries or directly to the office of the Seavey Settlement. Unattached men who are established in rooms and whose chief problem is that of unemployment, may be assigned work from the employment office and be paid in cash at the end of each work day. This makes it possible for them to retain their "home." However, if an unattached man is homeless, either stranded or has been sleeping in cheap "flop" houses, or is suspected of drinking to excess, he is referred to the office of the Seavey Settlement, where he may be given direct relief in the form of meal tickets, lodging, or clothing, or where he may be offered resident care, if he has no plan of his own and wishes to live in the Seavey building and embark upon a work program designed to get him "back on his feet."

Men accepted for resident care are assigned to work in the Goodwill Industry, or to cleaning or maintenance work within the Seavey building itself. A financial record is immediately opened for each man. He is credited with his work at the rate of 35 cents an hour. He is charged 35 cents a night for lodging, and for meal tickets in the amount issued. It is usual for one to get a 25 cent ticket for breakfast, a 35 cent

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3 Lillian Girard, "The Employment Bureau in a Goodwill Industry," (Unpublished manuscript, Boston, 1941).

ticket for the noon meal and a 30 cent ticket for the evening meal. Thus, if a man works a 40 hour week he earns $14.00. At the above figures his bed and board come to $8.75 per week, leaving $5.25 which is payable in cash unless clothing or other items have also been charged to the account. As a rule the men do not draw all of their cash each week. It is usual for the worker and the client to discuss the cash allowance with the purpose of determining what the man needs for his immediate wants, and looking toward accumulating enough in the man's account so that when he gets a job in private industry he will have enough saved in reserve to pay for his room and board until he gets his first pay.

With men accepted for resident care the case work program may begin in the initial interview and carry through all the worker-client relationships. The process can justifiably be called case work only if the worker takes pains to see that the man is assigned suitable work in the Goodwill Industries, if he helps the client budget his earnings and make other plans and if he is available when the client seeks counsel.

CHAPTER II

TYPES OF MEN AMONG CLIENTS

Sources of Referral. Because of its central location and the variety of services offered, the Seavey Settlement is used as a resource by many other social agencies. A few of these referrals are for the purpose of supplementation, but for the most part they include a transfer of case work responsibility.

However, Table I shows that almost two thirds of the men, 649, made personal application, that is came of their own accord, while only 138 came from the Central Application Bureau, which was an administrative part of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, operated as "an office where all transient and homeless men in Boston are sent for registration and for referral to the appropriate public or private social agency for assistance."[1]

This preponderance of men accepted for care on their personal application is due to the fact that those men needed service at a time when the Central Application Bureau was closed, and did not reflect an unwillingness to use that office.[2]

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1 Harold E. Lane, "Answers to Questions About the Central Application Bureau," Mimeographed Bulletin, Boston Council of Social Agencies, May, 1941.

2 Abandoned by the Council of Social Agencies in 1942.

The Seavey Settlement office is open from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M., while the Central Application Bureau hours were from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Most of those men accepted on their personal application applied to work for shoes or clothing as early as 8 A.M. and others applied for service after 5 P.M. In order to keep the Central Application Bureau informed, all cases were immediately indexed by mail. As soon as the photostatic copy of the index card was received it was checked to see if the Central

TABLE I

AGENCIES REFERRING 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Agency making referral	Number of men
Total	1011
Personal Application	649
Central Application Bureau	138
Overseers of Public Welfare	76
Missions and Churches	46
Department of Correction and Prison Aid Societies	34
Hospitals (General)	29
Miscellaneous Agencies	39

Application Bureau had previously indexed the case. If it had, a simple statement identifying the man and showing the service given was mailed to the Bureau. If it had not indexed the

case, a regular Bureau registration card was filled out in the Seavey office and mailed to the Bureau for its records.

While there are no figures available to show just how the personal applicants came to know of the Seavey Settlement, the writer has asked a large number how they happened to come, and in a great many cases the man claimed to have been referred by police, by friends, business men or clergy, or by workers in other agencies. It should be stated here that Table I credits to each agency only those referrals which were made in writing or by telephone. If a man just said "so and so sent me" he was classified as a personal applicant unless the referring party was actually consulted by the interviewer and the referral verified. A number of those classified as making personal application presented Overseers of the Public Welfare identification cards and were given supplementary work for clothing.

The 138 men who came from the Central Application Bureau were for the most part men entered for resident care. The purpose of the Central Application Bureau, as previously stated, was to serve as a registration center for all homeless and transient men in Boston in order to assure their assignment immediately to an appropriate agency. Therefore it was natural that most of its referrals were those needing, and willing to accept, resident care.

All of the 76 men referred by the Overseers of the Public Welfare were single men getting an allowance insufficient

to permit the purchase of clothing. Also many of these requests were on behalf of men unable to work on account of illness, and in those cases clothing was given outright. Others were recipients of Old Age Assistance. More than one of this group have told the writer that they had agreements with their landlady whereby she took their entire assistance check for room and board, leaving them nothing for pocket money or for clothing, or occasionally doling out a bit of small change.

Missions and churches sent 46 men with letters of referral or preceded their visit with a telephone call. A number of these came from Trinity Church, which gives the Seavey Settlement $500 per year from its Benton Fund, and refers many of the unattached men who apply there for help.

The Massachusetts Department of Correction, the United Prison Association and the Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners together referred 34 men during 1941. About one-third of these were men who came directly from prison after the Seavey Settlement had agreed to furnish a job and a home. The others were men who had been paroled or discharged from prison but had lost their jobs, and needed resident care for a time, or who were being given some help by a prisoner's aid group and were sent to the Seavey Settlement for supplementary relief.

Twenty-nine men were referred by hospitals during 1941. This does not include mental hospitals, which are grouped in

miscellaneous sources, but rather general hospitals in the city which often have unattached homeless men brought into them for emergency care. Sometimes these men are ready for discharge and yet are not quite well enough to be turned out on the street to shift for themselves. Often the Seavey Settlement accepts such men for care until a plan can be worked out, or the man finds employment.

The 39 men credited to miscellaneous sources include those referred by mental hospitals, the Red Cross, the Jacoby Club, the City Council and other organizations.

Legal Settlements. Any consideration of the legal settlements of a group of unattached men brings up immediately the question of the "transient." Often the term "transient" is used to designate an unattached local homeless person. This confusion exists primarily because of the surface similarity of problems of the two groups. The "social definition" of a transient may be said to be "that person or family who is in a community away from, or without, normal family, job, or community connections. In other words, he lacks roots in the community."[3] Irrespective of how long a man may have lived in a community, he may have lived the kind of a life that has resulted in his having no real roots in the community, and he may not easily be distinguished from the true transient who has

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3 Robert S. Wilson, Individualized Service for Transients, (New York: National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, 1934,) p.8.

legal settlement in some other state or who has no settlement at all. In Boston the problems of the transient homeless shade into the problems of the local homeless and the local unemployed until they can scarcely be distinguished. Both groups were handled by the Central Application Bureau, and the same degree of employability or unemployability, and the same absence of immediate group connections seemed to characterize both groups, and warranted like forms of service, although these services were under separate auspices and financed from different sources.

The writer believes that an explanation of why these two groups are so similar is seen in this statement by John N. Webb, in which he clearly distinguishes the migratory-casual worker from the resident-casual worker:

> Objectively, the migratory-casual worker can be identified by two characteristics: (1) the type of work he does and (2) his work habit or pattern. Neither characteristic is, in itself, sufficient identification. The term "casual employment" is generally used to describe unskilled jobs for which the principal qualifications are bodily vigor and the presence of the worker at the time of hiring. The best examples of casual, as distinguished from migratory-casual, workers are found in large industrial and transportation centers; longshoremen on the docks, freight handlers in the railroad yards and warehouses, truck and transfer helpers, common labor on building and street construction, women day workers, and odd-job men. Although there is constant shifting from employer to employer when work is to be had, the movement is confined to one city, or even more frequently to a particular section of one city. Such workers may conveniently be thought of as resident casuals.
>
> In contrast, the migratory-casual worker moves from place to place over a relatively large area in search of

work that is distinctly casual in its nature.[4]

Legal settlements shown in Table II are based upon information given by the men themselves, and have not been verified. This table shows that the Seavey Settlement serves comparatively few transients. Slightly more than two-thirds of

TABLE II

LEGAL SETTLEMENTS OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Legal settlement	Number of men
Total	1011
Boston	685
Elsewhere in Massachusetts	96
In another New England state	58
In a state outside of New England	65
Unsettled	73
Unknown	34

the men came from Boston itself, and another tenth came from within the state of Massachusetts. The other New England states contributed 58, while 65 had settlement in some other state outside of New England. Only 73 were registered as un-

4 John M. Webb, The Migratory-Casual Worker, Research Monograph VII, (Washington, D. C: W.P.A. Division of Social Research, U. S. Gov't Printing Office, 1937.) pp. 2-3.

settled and the settlements of 34 were unknown.

Those men who had residence outside of Massachusetts, were, generally speaking, those with whom the Seavey Settlement had but one contact during the year. These were mostly migratory-casual workers needing help in emergencies. These emergencies were caused by such facts as running out of funds when going to or from employment in the woods of northern New England, being ill, or by becoming intoxicated and having one's money stolen. A small number were stranded seamen who had lost their papers and had to earn money for duplicate papers before they could ship out again or before they could get help from a seaman's relief group. Usually men of the migratory-casual worker type stayed around only a few days, long enough to earn money to carry them for a day or two, then went out, confident they could find work. Many were rather apologetic at having to fall back upon "relief" even though they earned what they received.

In case the reader wonders why more of the unattached Boston residents did not get help at the office of the Overseers of Public Welfare, the writer would explain that sometimes one's application for aid is not accepted by the office of the Overseers of Public Welfare unless the applicant has a room in which he may be visited. In some cases where an applicant was unable to work, he was given money for a room, and meal tickets until such a time as the welfare visitor had

called upon him and approved aid.

Another local group is made up of those men who work regularly in agricultural jobs during the summer and then intend to live on their savings through the winter. Many of this group find themselves out of money in early spring, a few weeks before farm work opens up, and they come to the Seavey Settlement to live and work until they get a job.

Ages. No boys under 21 appear on Table III because without exception they were referred to the Hayden Goodwill Inn for

TABLE III

AGES OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Age group	Number of men
Total	1011
21-34	157
35-49	487
50-64	311
65 and over	56

Boys, another department of Morgan Memorial.

Almost half were in the 35-49 age group, the "prime of life" stage, and about a third were in the 50-64 age group, and only about a twentieth were 65 and over.

The fact that such a large number are in the "prime of

life" group suggests, since employment was favorable during most of 1941, some social or physical handicap which makes the individual unemployable at the time he applies for help. It is known that a comparatively small number of these men were physically handicapped, therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that the term "socially handicapped" may be applied. The following description of a type of transient by Robert S. Wilson says just about what the writer has in mind here:

> Many transients have had some sort of "tough break" which may easily have shown up some human frailty, otherwise concealed. They may have experienced difficulties which were inspired by conditions wholly outside of their control, such as unemployment, or family break-up, or situations precipitated by some untoward action or personality difficulty of their own. In nearly all of them, such abilities and self respect as they have originally possessed are befogged by discouragement, a sense of social disapproval, cynicism, apathy, and irregular living. Until such an opportunity has been restored to them to live normally with their fellows, as well as some sense of security afforded them, it is difficult to say just which frailties grow out of pressure-circumstances that would demoralize almost anyone, which develop from native incapacities, and which come from some concealed inadequacy which in normal times might never had appeared.[5]

The fact that the 65 and over group contains only 56 men indicates that the Old Age Assistance program is effective in giving the aged a measure of independence. As a matter of fact, most of those in this class are getting Old Age Assistance and came to the Seavey Settlement for clothing they could not afford to buy. It can be expected that with the $40 minimum

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5 Robert S. Wilson and Dorothy de la Pole, Group Treatment for Transients, (New York: National Association of Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1934), p. 10.

Old Age allowance now in effect, there will be even fewer of these men in the future. Others over 65 were aliens, and some had not lived in this state long enough to qualify for Old Age Assistance.

Occupations. Table IV shows that almost half of the men served by the Seavey Settlement in 1941 were laborers. In depression times the unskilled laborer has the hardest time of any group to remain self-supporting, and even though 1941 was

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONS OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Occupation	Number of men
Total	1011
Unskilled laborer	469
Skilled worker	325
Restaurant worker	68
Salesman	63
Chauffer or truck driver	31
Not reported	55

a year of growing defense production, the unskilled worker was still a surplus commodity on the labor market.

Skilled workers constituted approximately a third of the men served by the Seavey Settlement. Sixty-seven different

occupations are represented in the skilled worker class, which contains 325 men. This number seems to be rather out of proportion compared to "normal" times, but the explanation apparently lies in the fact that many defense jobs induced skilled workers to come to Boston. In many cases these men hadn't worked at their trade for some time, and consequently were short of money to carry them along until they got a pay day. Others couldn't stand the prosperity of big pay and spent it on liquor, ending up stranded, without money or clothing, and thus needed a lift until they got re-established. Iron workers and riggers came for work in the shipyards; carpenters, electricians and other tradesmen came in for work at Fort Devens or Camp Edwards or in the navy yard.

The 68 restaurant workers are representative of the group of dishwashers, counter men and second cooks that change jobs frequently due to their drinking habits or to personality quirks which make it hard for them to work in close quarters and under pressure. Many such come to the Seavey Settlement wanting only a clean white shirt and a shave, which qualifies them for work in any one of a score of eating places. Others of these restaurant workers get stranded when they change jobs at the beginning or at the end of the resort season.

The group of 63 salesmen includes a few specialty salesmen, former store clerks and some house to house peddlers. There were 31 chauffers and truck drivers and 55 others whose

occupations were not reported.

Education. Table V shows that approximately half of this group did not go beyond the 8th grade or grammar school in their formal education. Approximately one-fifth started high school but did not finish, and only about one-twentieth

TABLE V

EDUCATION OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED BY THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Education	Number of men
Total	1011
Less than 8 grades	196
Graduated from 8th grade	391
Attended high school but did not graduate	201
Graduated from high school	59
Attended college but did not get degree	24
College graduate	7
Not reported	133

graduated from high school. Twenty-four started college but dropped out and only seven claimed to have received college degrees.

This table shows that these men were about average according to a United States Census Bureau report showing that as of April 1, 1940, over half of the persons 25 years old or

older in the United States had completed an 8th grade education.[6] The same report claimed that 4.6 per cent had graduated from college, which would make this group quite low as only slightly over one per cent of those reported had been graduated from college.

Marital Status. Table VI shows that almost two-thirds of the men have never married. One would expect that the largest number of unattached individuals would be among those who

TABLE VI

MARITAL STATUS OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Marital status	Number of men
Total	1011
Single (never married)	615
Separated	143
Widowed	102
Divorced	73
Not reported	78

had never involved themselves in marriage. The next largest group were the separated men, 143 being in that group, as against 102 widowed and only 73 divorced. The larger number of separated men, compared to the divorced men, reflects the pre-

6 Christian Science Monitor, June 6, 1942, p.2,col.1.

dominance of the Roman Catholic faith in the group. Almost without exception those who claimed to be divorced were Protestants and those who claimed separation were members of the Catholic church, which stands against divorce, although recognizing a legal separation.

It is recognized that of all the tables here the table on marital status is most likely to be inaccurate, because many times a man will say he has never married when in reality he has. However, the writer believes there are not enough false answers here to invalidate the study. Usually the question asked was not "Are you married?" but was "Have you ever been married?" which the writer believes is more apt to draw an accurate reply. Also in some cases it was learned from the index that the man had been married when he claimed not to be, and a correction in his record was later made. The marital status was not reported in 78 cases.

The fact that there are so many single men in this group, so many more than in the general population, suggests that there may be some personality problem that not only kept them from marrying but also keeps them from making a satisfactory adjustment in their work and in other relationships as well. Also the fact that those who are divorced or separated are now unable to make a satisfactory adjustment in their work and other relationships, may also suggest the presence of personality problems that are deep seated, and that may also have

caused marital difficulty.

Birthplaces. According to Table VII, more than three-fourths of the men served by the Seavey Settlement in 1941 were American born. Second to the native born in number are those of Irish birth, 127 in number. Canada with 31, England with 19 and Italy with 10 follow in the order named. The miscellaneous countries in which 27 men were born included mostly northern

TABLE VII

BIRTHPLACES OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED BY THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT IN 1941

Birthplace	Number of men
Total	1011
United States	790
Ireland	127
Canada	31
England	19
Italy	10
Miscellaneous	27
Not reported	7

European and Scandinavian countries. Seven places of birth were not reported.

An interesting fact not shown in Table VII but which is apparent when this table is compared to one showing birthplaces

of heads of families is this: Many of Irish birth and few of Italian birth appear among the unattached, while few of Irish birth and many of Italian birth appear among the family cases helped by Morgan Memorial.

Religious Faiths. Table VIII shows that over half the men served in the Seavey Settlement in 1941 were members of the Roman Catholic church. This is to be expected in Boston, where that particular church has such a large membership. Another

TABLE VIII

RELIGIOUS FAITHS OF 1011 UNATTACHED MEN SERVED IN THE SEAVEY SETTLEMENT FOR MEN IN 1941

Religious faith	Number of men
Total	1011
Roman Catholic	581
Protestant	339
Greek Orthodox	7
Jewish	3
Miscellaneous	8
None	10
Not reported	63

reason why many unattached Catholic men come to a place like the Seavey Settlement is because the Catholic Charitable Bureau does not help unattached men as a rule, but refers them to

the Industrial Aid Society.

Among those who call themselves Protestants are many Catholics who have not attended church for years but occasionally hear a gospel message in a mission, and believe that makes them Protestants. Another factor which might be present in this particular table is that during the Morgan Memorial truck drivers' strike in the summer of 1941, large banners were carried by some of the strikers on picket, accusing Morgan Memorial of discriminating against Catholics. The writer believes that some of those who claim to be Protestants do so under the impression that they are more apt to get the kind of service they want.

The seven members of the Greek orthodox group is just about the number of Syrians in the group. That there are only three Jews in the group indicates a more or less well known fact, that the Jews take care of their own, and only rarely does one of that faith seek help outside his own people. Eight were of miscellaneous other faiths such as Mohammedism, Theosophist, etc. Only ten claimed to have no religious belief, and the creeds of 63 were not reported.

CHAPTER III

A DISCUSSION OF CASE WORK

In the introduction the writer made the statement that the Seavey Settlement had inherent in its set-up, if adequately staffed, all the resources for doing case work. At this time it is well to define case work and discuss it in general terms, then make certain observations with regard to case work with unattached men in particular.

Social case work has been said to consist of "those processes involved in giving service, financial assistance or personal counsel to individuals by representatives of social agencies according to policies established and with consideration of individual needs."[1]

Bertha C. Reynolds says this of case work:

> "Life is for growth." So does Zona Gale, in a recent article in The Nation, sum up the message of the life of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Quoting her words, "Any thing which hampered or thwarted the growth, the expanding consciousness, the increasing co-operation of the Human Being, that Unit of Life, was to her the sin not so much unpardonable as incredible. For life is for growth. That was the brilliant common sense of her enormous awareness of the human scene. Set against the simple tragedy, the simple ambition, even the simple aspiration of the individual life, this interpretation of hers raised living to new riches."

I have never come upon a better definition of social

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1 Elizabeth de Schweinitz, "Case Work," Survey, 75:39 February 1939.

work than could be based upon these words. In common with education such as is worthy of the name, it stakes its all on the truth of the proposition that life is for growth. Social work differs from education in that its attention is more given to the hindrances, the thwartings of growth as these arise in human lives than to the fostering of the growth process as it goes forward successfully. But education too has to concern itself at times with whatever hinders learning, and social work is constantly helping people to an expanding consciousness of their world and their places in it. It is social in that it assists the individual human being to relate himself to others and to act in co-operation with them. Adapting the words just quoted, then, to a sort of definition; social work concerns itself with human beings where there is anything that hinders or thwarts their growth, their expanding consciousness, their increasing co-operation. Social case work is that form of social work which assists the individual while he struggles to relate himself to his family, his natural groups, his community.[2]

Of course, not every individual needs help, but there are many who cannot face their problems without assistance, and those call for individual attention. Many times this individual attention needs to be expert attention. Bertha C. Reynolds argues for expert attention in this way:

Why, you ask, does it need to be expert? Why not ask them what is the matter and either fix it up or tell them that you can't and send them home? Unfortunately it is not as simple as that. The findings of psychology and psychiatry during the last quarter century have confirmed what keen observers had noticed before without knowing the reasons: that often people do not know what is the matter; that, lacking knowledge of this, attempts to "fix it up" fail; and that people are not satisfied to be sent home without any better understanding of their situation or any gain in ability to cope with it. It is because feelings and desires buried beneath the surface of consciousness determine so largely what people do and how they co-operate with others that only a person who is expert enough to help these feelings to get to the surface can be very reliably

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2 Bertha C. Reynolds, "Social Case Work: What Is It?" The Family, 16:235 , December, 1935.

useful in helping people in difficulty. Such expertness does not come through experiences of living, although these are important to the growth of the kind of mature, well-balanced personality that is of most help to people in difficulties. The days of rule-of-thumb in case work practice are going fast. There is now a body of scientific knowledge of personality and behavior such that mistakes costly in time and in suffering are no longer as excusable as they used to be. The findings of psychiatry and psychology medicine, sociology, economics, and political science can now be applied to human problems in a consulting relationship which has been developed in a unique way in social case work. It differs from the relationship of psychiatrist and patient in that it does not assume that the person seeking help is sick and is placing himself in the hands of another for treatment, and it does not, or should not, ignore the social milieu to which the client is trying to adjust. It keeps the problem in the client's hands but diagnoses his difficulty with it as a good teacher would diagnose a child's difficulty with reading or with learning to swim.

The case worker does not pick such knowledge out of the air, yet all his book theories will tell him only what <u>might</u> be the matter, not what <u>is</u> the matter with the distressed person before him. To learn that, he must use all his powers of observation and when the person does not himself know what is the matter, the case worker must be able to read the true story of the source of the difficulties in spite of the client's inability to make it clear. If the client's need is to hide his pain, the case worker must the more skillfully understand what he means, even while he is denying it. He must be able to relieve the client's distress enough to make it possible for the client to work with him toward a solution in terms of a readjustment in living. And by <u>relieve</u> I do not mean only taking care of material needs, <u>although</u> that may be important; relief of anxiety and fear are sometimes equally necessary before the client can take part in the solution of his own difficulties.[3]

The fact that there can be people pointed out as "expert" in the field of social case work, suggests some tangible basic principles or common elements in the process to assist the individual in overcoming some kind of obstacle so that he

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3 Ibid. pp. 238-239

may become better adjusted to or in a particular situation which troubles him. Individuals differ in the kinds of problems they have and agencies differ in function, but there are some common elements in the process of case work which are used by most workers. Some of these elements are:

1. The case worker will have an understanding of the dynamics of human behavior, in its individual and social aspects.

2. The worker will seek to understand rather than to judge the individual. In other words he will learn to accept the person even if he cannot accept the behavior.

3. The worker must keep at the very center of the whole process the importance of the client's feeling and thinking, and not his own.

4. The worker recognizes that the most effective means of progress comes when the effort is taken by the individual himself, not when the client is made to respond to the will of the worker.

5. In most cases the client voluntarily seeks help.

These elements mentioned above are common to all types of case work. The way in which they are applied, however, will vary in the light of the particular problem brought to a specific agency.

In what way does case work as applied to homeless unattached men differ specifically from case work in general? In the first place it is obvious that the man doesn't have a home.

That in itself is an important factor to consider in treatment. A single room, no matter how poorly furnished or ventilated, may be a real home to a certain type of individual, and if he is able to pick up enough odd jobs in order to pay the room rent when it is due, he may move along in his little world with an ease that suggests adequate adjustment. However, that is not the person considered here. The man who buys his bed by the night, paying 15 cents at Dawes Hotel, or 20 cents at the Boston Industrial Home, or 25 cents at the People's Palace of the Salvation Army, or who gets a room for a week when he finds the price of a week's rent in his pocket, only to go back to hiring beds by the night when the week's rent is up, is the type of man referred to here. He has no real roots of any kind in the community.

Secondly, the unattached man is a part of no immediate family group. He may have relatives in the vicinity. He may even have a wife and children that he has deserted, or from whom he has been divorced or separated, but the existence of these relationships mean little to him under present circumstances. They may occasionally influence his conduct. Some men may accidentally meet their wife or children on the street and soon after get drunk rather than face the memories and conflicts that such a meeting provokes.

While these two facts in themselves need not affect the case work process in terms of the basic common elements des-

scribed earlier in this chapter, they do set the homeless unattached person apart from those clients who are parts of a family group living in a more or less permanent place of residence.

Boston's South End is a mixture of families and unattached persons. Some parts of it may be likened to Stuart A. Queen's "Hobohemia:"

> Hobohemia is filled with cheap lodging houses, crude lunch counters where service is rough and ready, second-hand clothing stores, employment agencies, and missions. On the edge of the district are pawn shops, barber "colleges," soft-drink stands, "blind-pigs," cheap movies and burlesque shows. The institutions within Hobohemia serve the homeless men almost exclusively, providing them with food and clothing and places to sleep and loaf. Those on the borders of Hobohemia depend partly upon the trade of the more permanent population, but also cater to the needs of the homeless. Here it is possible to see a very poor moving picture for ten or fifteen cents, to buy a complete outfit of clothing for a very few dollars, secure a meal for fifteen to twenty cents and a night's lodging for ten to fifty cents. Standards of living are low in Hobohemia. Lodging houses and restaurants are dark, dirty and unventilated. The quality of food and of clothing is poor, and amusements are of the lowest imaginable type.[4]

Since the Seavey Settlement for Men is located on the very edge of such a "hobohemia" it has a large source of "raw material" with which to work. It appears to the writer that chief among the advantages available in the Seavey are the possibilities for employment in the Goodwill Industries, and the ability to offer group association to those homeless unat-

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4 Stuart A. Queen and Jennette R. Gruener, Social Pathology, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1940) p. 404.

tached men who are not "lone wolves" but who really suffer from the lack of human companionship. However, just the existence of these possibilities is not enough to help clients. There must be a specific inquiring into the needs of the men served, and an intelligent application of that which has been called the case work process. And further, there must be an adequate concept of agency function on the part of the worker, and he must know when and how to refer to other agencies better fitted to serve the clients needs than is his own agency.

CHAPTER IV

UNATTACHED HOMELESS MEN AND ALCOHOLISM

Nearly 100 per cent of the men served in the Seavey Settlement drink alcoholic beverages. Probably only about 10 per cent are habitual chronic drinkers to the extent that drinking occupies more of their time and resources than any form of creative behavior. These men who think of nothing else are usually only brief service clients. They come to the Seavey Settlement when they have holes in the soles of their shoes, or when they have to have a shirt or a pair of pants, and work only a few hours in order to pay for it. Many times such men are obviously so intoxicated that they cannot work, and often are told to leave liquor alone for a day and come in the next morning to work. Sometimes a man will come in three or four days in succession before he shows up sober enough to be sent to work. Often the writer has spent time interviewing these men, inquiring as to whether they would like to share in the Seavey Settlement resident program. Many have been quite frank in stating that they couldn't leave liquor alone and didn't care about making a sincere effort to do so. Others of this type have entered upon the regular work program, only to come into the office about the third or fourth day, all enthused about a job they just had offered to them. They would draw

what cash reserve was to their credit and leave the Seavey, presumably for the new job. However, sometimes in a few hours, sometimes in a day or two, they would come back to the Seavey Settlement, intoxicated, or obviously just getting over a drunk. Often they would admit that they hadn't had a job to go to in the first place, but knew they had some money saved and just had to have a drink. No matter how much money a man like this has when he starts to drink, he is usually penniless inside of a few hours. If he hasn't spent it all for liquor for himself and his friends, he has had it taken away from him by persons who are always hovering like vultures to raid the pockets of the drunk.

The writer estimates that about half of the men served at the Seavey Settlement present the problem of alcoholism as the superficial expression of some deeper underlying personality problem.

Dr. Merrill Moore, Assistant Visiting Psychiatrist at the Boston City Hospital, gives a practical definition and divides chronic drinkers into two well recognized groups:

> Opinions as to what constitues chronic alcoholism vary widely. At one extreme stand those who maintain that the daily moderate use of beer or wine at dinner constitutes chronic alcoholism, while at the other extreme are those who insist on constant intoxication as the criterion for such a diagnosis. I reserve the term "chronic alcoholism" for those individuals whose drinking interferes in their normal occupational and social activities, whether this occurs constantly or periodically. Further division of chronic alcoholic patients into two groups may be made. In the first group are the constant steady drinkers, the "addicts," who most generally commence the day with a drink on

awakening. These individuals drink not only to relieve psychologic distress but also to overcome symptoms resulting from the previous day's alcoholic intake. In their treatment therefore are two problems: the relief of the symptoms (physiologic or psychologic in nature) which led them to alcoholism, and the symptoms due to alcohol. In the second main group of chronic alcoholic patients are the periodic drunkards, who go on sprees which may last for days, weeks or months, but who are continent drinkers or even abstainers between bouts. In these patients psychologic problems are dominant and the results of psychotherapy are most gratifying.[1]

Why do people drink? Some of the reasons as applying particularly to transient and homeless men have been set down as follows:

1. Conviviality. The wanderer lacks healthy relationships. Many of the people whom he sees at each point are strangers to him. Alcohol artificially induces a spirit of conviviality and companionship.

2. Custom. Some people drink to excess because it is the fashion in the particular groups in which they move. With the experienced migrant, seasonal worker or unskilled worker, drinking--at least a Saturday night "blow-out"--is often customary.

3. Escape or compensation. "Misery drinking" occurs commonly among groups who face wretched economic or social circumstances or who have minor worries, anxieties, or problems which they need badly to dispel. Transiency and unemployment are double-barrelled inducements to "misery drinking." There is apparently little to be gained by staying sober. Among the transients are those who have behind them in the home community some unsolved situation or worry such as family trouble or delinquency. Drink may be resorted to as a method of dispelling the gloom and replacing it with a feeling of warmth and confidence. If the result is successful it is very easy to repeat it until it becomes a habit.

4. Emotional release. Transients and homeless drink more heavily than some other classes because they face more

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1 Merrill Moore, M.D., "The Treatment of Alcoholism," New England Journal of Medicine, Vol. 221, Sept.'39, pp. 489-493.

difficulty in satisfying their emotional demands in a healthy fashion.

5. Habit. Whatever the original cause, drinking can easily become a habit which, like all other habits, demands satisfaction. Particularly is this true of the small percentage of the homeless group who become addicts of "derail" or canned heat, Jamaica ginger, hair tonic, or other of the special "dope" which are sometimes found in the jungle, the mission, and the city shelter. When the body becomes soaked with alcohol by chronic drinking the person does not feel natural unless half tipsy.[2]

Can we not say that the homeless man drinks for some of the same reasons as do other people? However, he has less to gain by remaining sober, and often his circumstances and immediate surroundings are such that he may well wish to escape from reality.

During the past year the Seavey Settlement has referred some of its clients to the Washingtonian Hospital, which is a hospital for the treatment of alcoholics. This was done because it seemed apparent that very little effective work was being done with alcoholics in the Seavey Settlement. It had been years since a lasting "conversion" had been seen in a Seavey mission meeting, and many other men whose sobriety was the result of an affective relationship with a worker, relapsed as soon as something happened to destroy that relationship. Faced with the realization that in some cases a religious appeal had failed, and an employment program, supplemented by a

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2 Mabel A. Elliot and Frances E. Merrill, Social Disorganization, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934) p. 20.

somewhat deficient leisure time activity program, had also failed, it was felt that medical treatment and psychotherapy such as was offered by the Washingtonian Hospital might furnish an answer, if used to supplement the regular program of the Seavey Settlement.

Out of the five men who were referred to the Washingtonian Hospital at the expense of the Seavey, three are living soberly at present and two have relapsed to the same degree of alcoholism as before their entering the hospital. The one who has apparently been most effectively cured has shown the desirability of adopting a completely new life pattern. He has been aided to formulate acceptable goals and to sublimate all his immediate desires which do not contribute to their realization.

Dr. Robert Seliger of Johns-Hopkins University has made up a list of attitudes whose acceptance is essential to the progress and success of the alcoholic, which is quoted by Dr. Merrill Moore as follows:

1. You must be convinced from your own experience that your reaction to alcohol is so abnormal that any indulgence for you constitutes a totally undesirable and impossible way of life.

2. You must be completely sincere in your desire to stop drinking once and for all.

3. You must recognize that the problem of drinking for you is not merely a problem of dissipation, but of a dangerous pathological reaction to a (for you) pernicious drug.

4. You must clearly understand that once a person has

passed from normal to abnormal drinking he can never learn to control drinking again.

5. You must come to understand that you have been trying to substitute alcoholic phantasy for real achievement in life, and that your effort has been hopeless and absurd.

6. You must recognize that giving up alcohol is your own personal problem, which primarily concerns yourself alone.

7. You must be convinced that at all times and under all conditions alcohol produces for you, not happiness, but unhappiness.

8. You must come to understand that the motive behind your drinking has been some form of self-expression, some desire to gratify an immature craving for attention, or to escape from unpleasant reality in order to get rid of disagreeable states of mind.

9. You must understand that alcoholic ancestry is an excuse, not a reason for abnormal drinking.

10. You must realize that any reasonably intelligent and sincere person, who is willing to make a sustained effort for a sufficient period of time is capable of learning to live without alcohol.

11. You must fully resolve to tell the truth and the whole truth, without waiting to be asked, to the person who is trying to help you--and you must be equally honest with yourself.

12. You must avoid the small glass of wine--the apparently harmless lapse--with even more determination than the obvious slug of gin.

13. You must never be so foolish as to try to persuade yourself that you can drink beer.

14. You must never be so childish as to offer temporary boredom as an excuse to yourself for taking a drink.

15. You must disabuse your mind of any illusions about alcohol sharpening and polishing your wit and intellect.

16. You must learn to be tolerant of other people's mistakes poor judgment and bad manners, without becoming emotionally disturbed.

17. You must learn to disregard the dumb advice and often dumber questions of relatives and friends, without becoming disturbed emotionally.

18. You must recognize alcoholic day-dreaming about past "good times," favorite bars, etc., as a dangerous pastime, to be inhibited by thinking about your reasons for not drinking.

19. You must learn to withstand success as well as failure, since pleasant emotions as well as unpleasant ones can serve as "good" excuses for taking a drink.

20. You must learn to be especially on guard during periods of changes in your life that involve some emotion or nervous fatigue.

21. You must try to acquire a mature sense of value and learn to be controlled by your judgment instead of your emotions.

22. You must realize that in giving up drinking you should not regard yourself as a hero or a martyr, entitled to make unreasonable demands that your family give in to your every whim and wish.

23. You must beware of unconsciously projecting yourself into the role of some character in a movie, book or play who handles liquor "like a gentleman"and of persuading yourself that you can, and will, do likewise with equal impunity.

24. You must learn the importance of eating, since the best preventive for that tired nervous feeling which so often leads to taking a drink is food, and must carry chocolate bars or other candy with you at all times to eat between meals and whenever you get restless, jittery or tired.

25. You must learn how to relax naturally, both mentally and physically, without the use of the narcotic action of alcohol.

26. You must learn to avoid needless hurry, and resultant fatigue by concentrating on what you are doing rather than on what you are going to do next.

27. You must not neglect care of your physical health, which is an important part of your rehabilitation.

28. You must carefully follow a daily self-imposed schedule

which, conscientiously carried out, aids in organizing a disciplined personality, developing new habits for old and bringing out a new rhythm of living.

29. You must never relax your determination or become careless, lazy, indifferent or cocky in your efforts to eliminate your desire for alcohol.

30. You must not be discouraged by a feeling of discontent during the early stages of sobriety, but must turn this feeling into incentive to action which will legitimately satisfy your desire for self-expression.

31. You must not drop your guard at any time, but especially not during the early period of your reorganization, when premature feelings of victory and elation often occur.

32. You must understand that, besides abstinence, your real goal is a contented, efficient life.

33. You must appreciate the seriousness of your re-education, and regard it as the most important thing in your life.

34. You must realize that most people seeking psychological help for abnormal drinking are above average in intellectual endowment, and that while drinking means failure, abstinence is likely to mean success.

35. You must never feel that any of these suggestions are in any way inconsequential, or secondary to business, play, or what not: and must conscientiously observe every one of them, day in and day out.[3]

Because of the resources at the command of the staff of the Seavey Settlement it is possible to furnish considerable aid to the alcoholic who is really sincere and wishes to re-order his life to include the attitudes listed above. How this has worked out in actual practice is shown in the follow-

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3 Merrill Moore, M. D., "The Management of the Alcoholic Probationer," 1941 Yearbook, National Probation Association, pp. 318-320.

ing case of H. J:

Mr. J. was born in Massachusetts in 1911. His parents were not happy in their marriage and he was placed in many private foster homes. When he was 18 he had finished one year of high school and went to live with his mother who was operating a restaurant in his home town. He worked for her and she was indulgent, giving him always more money than his agreed salary. At twenty he was married to a girl eighteen. Three months later he lost his job when his mother sold the restaurant. He could not find other work right away and started to drink. He worked irregularly for about three years and then his wife went back to live with her parents, taking with her their two year old son. Mr. J. claims he and his wife never quarrelled and they got a divorce only because others advised it. Until two weeks before the divorce became absolute she visited him frequently in his room where they lived as man and wife.

For the past five years Mr. J. has worked mostly in restaurants, changing jobs often. He came to the Salvey Settlement on October 11, 1941, saying he had just come to the city and expected to find a job in Boston within a day or two. However, after having spent a day at work in the Goodwill Industries, Mr. J. asked if he might be considered for a training job of some sort. He was assigned to the Furniture Repair department where he learned to re-silver mirrors and also began

to learn the use of power tools. On December 5 he was influenced by a former Seavey Settlement client to go to a job as a cook. He worked about a week on that job and then came back on his day off so drunk that he had to be taken out by the police. After a few days he came back to the Seavey Settlement and was still drunk, so the worker explained the Washingtonian Hospital plan, saying that any further service in the Seavey Settlement would be conditional upon his saving money toward hospital care if he started drinking again. Mr. J. said he was not interested. During the next few days Mr. J. was constantly under the influence of alcohol, and was occasionally given a meal ticket or a ticket for a bed at the Dawes Hotel.

On January 11, a Sunday, Mr. J. came to the worker's apartment in the Seavey Settlement and asked to be sent to the Washingtonian Hospital, stating that he would come back to the Seavey Settlement and stay at least long enough to pay the expense of the hospital care. The worker hesitated at first because Mr. J. hadn't made any attempt to save money toward the hospital and he felt that Mr. J. had finally realized it would be a chance to sober up and that was all he wanted out of it. However, the worker sensed in Mr. J.'s desperate pleading a real need for immediate action of some kind, so he gave Mr. J. a letter of introduction guaranteeing payment for a week's care and started him off to the hospital alone, reasoning that if he

got there of his own accord it would be because he really wanted to share in the hospital plan.

Mr. J. proved to be a model patient. His psychometric tests showed an IQ of 119 and his attitudes so pleased the doctors that they gave him a discharge at the end of a week, suggesting that he come to the hospital in the evenings and spend his leisure time in the recreation room there. He also had weekly interviews with the doctor for several weeks. He came out of the hospital full of enthusiasm and confidence in the doctors. A few weeks later he felt an urge to drink and returned to the hospital for overnight care, which is just what the doctors urged him to do.

Mr. J. returned to the Seavey Settlement and returned to his work in the furniture repair shop. A few weeks later he was transferred to the cash pay roll and was allowed to leave the Seavey Settlement dormitory for a room in Goodwill Lodge, at 3 Corning street, which is operated as an annex of the Seavey Settlement. There fifteen rooms are used as the "next step" toward "normal living". Mr. J. immediately showed great interest in his new room, painting the furniture, buying pictures for the wall, a rug for the floor, and other items. He spent most of his free time in his room.

About two months after he had left the hospital, Mr. J.'s mother came to the Seavey Settlement, saying that she had been receiving such long and interesting letters from her son

that she had to come down to see what kind of a place it was that had made such a difference in him. Mr. J. had mentioned to her that he needed some dental work, and she left a considerable amount of money with the worker to be used for that purpose and for a spring outfit of clothing. Almost weekly since that time she has come in to Boston and she and Mr. J. have gone out to dinner together. On one occasion she brought his son, now eight years old, to Boston for him to take to the circus. He has renewed contact with his divorced wife, is sending her money frequently and there is talk of their marrying again.

Mr. J. learned to repair the metal insides of ice boxes while working at Morgan Memorial and with that knowledge was able to get a job as a metal worker in a defense plant. At this writing, two months later, he is earning comparatively big pay. However, he is still living in the Goodwill Lodge, saying that he now has nothing to fear from the South End environment. He wishes to stay there until October, when he is due to receive about $700 from his father's estate. He believes that if he can remain sober and on the job until that time he will use that inheritance to re-establish his family.

Comments. For over six months this man has been sober and he seems to be building on solid ground, looking toward a re-establishment of his family. A little guidance at the right time, the availability of hospital care and psychotherapy, employment, frequent conferences with the worker, and the other

resources of the Seavey enabled this man to make a sound plan for himself and to follow it successfully.

THE CASE OF C. F., ANOTHER ALCOHOLIC

Mr. F. was also born in Massachusetts, but in 1898, which makes him thirteen years older than the subject of the case previously described. He has never married, and is the only one out of a large family of children who has used alcohol to excess. He has been a machinist (lathe man), a shoe salesman, and a cook. He was graduated from high school. One leg has been amputated below the knee.

Mr. F. was accepted for resident care on June 19, 1941. Previous registration cards showed that he had been in the Seavey Settlement at various times over a period of two years beginning in 1935 and ending in 1937, and indicated that he had been discharged each time for drunkedness. The record contained no mention of the fact that during one of his stays in the Seavey he got drunk and stayed out all night, with the result that a frozen leg had to be amputated. For the past four years Mr. F. had worked hardly at all and had been sober only a comparatively small part of the time.

Mr. F. was assigned to a job repairing burlap bags (a job he could sit at) and seemed to make an immediate adjustment to the routine of the program. An entry in his case record dates 8-14-41 states that Mr. F. apparently had had nothing to drink and had got all his clothes and other articles

out of pawn, and that he had a large supply of clothes and took pride in his personal appearance.

Mr. F. stayed sober and worked well until Labor Day, when he started drinking. When worker returned from his vacation three days later, Mr. F. was still on his drunk. He was occasionally seen on the street during the next few days, but was still far from sober when his sister telephoned to inquire about him. She had given Mr. F. a home for a time after his leg was amputated, but had been forced to move when his drinking bothered the neighbors. She has a non-listed telephone in order that Mr. F. cannot trace her through the telephone directory.

Previous to this time the worker had become acquainted with the plan of the Washingtonian Hospital and had wondered if it might not be used as part of a case work process in certain instances. The Hospital has a reduced rate for social agencies and it had occured to the worker that a client might be induced to save money toward care there. Mr. F. seemed to be one with whom the experiment might profitably be made. In his own mind the worker had reasoned this way: Here is a man who has been subjected to the appeals of many religious mission meetings, and to much personal religious work; he has also been given employment and other material assistance, yet he has failed to solve his big problem. Perhaps now medical care and psychotherapy could help. Perhaps three "tools" can do the work

that not one, nor two, had done.

Mr. F's sister agreed that the experiment might be worth trying, and guaranteed the cost of two weeks care.

A few days later Mr. F. returned to the office of the Seavey Settlement. He was told about the Washingtonian Hospital and expressed an interest in it. He went to the hospital and talked the matter over with a doctor, who telephoned later that the man's attitude impressed him and that he thought Mr. F. should enter the hospital the next time he began drinking.

Mr. F. was allowed to re-enter the Seavey Settlement and returned to his job in the Goodwill Industries. On Armistice Day, three weeks later, he started drinking again. He balked at going to the hospital but after several attempts during the day he was finally persuaded to allow himself to be taken there. The following day the worker called on Mr. F's sister, who signed a committment paper and furnished additional information about the client's background. Tests at the hospital showed an IQ of 108. Mr. F. stayed in the hospital a week and was then discharged on "working parole," which meant that he continued to eat and sleep at the hospital but came to work at Morgan Memorial during the day. After a week of this he came back to live in the Seavey Settlement.

About a month later Mr. F. began a training program in machine work offered at a vocational school as part of a government program to furnish workers for defense industry. This

turned out to be more of a "refresher course" for Mr. F. since he had spent several years at the trade some ten or twelve years ago. He became bored with the school after the first two months, but stuck it out, saying that he was going to show them that a "fellow like that," could stick at something if he wanted to. The course was planned to provide a certificate of efficiency after 480 hours of attendance. Mr. F. started on the 11 P. M. to 7 A. M. shift at the school, and continued his work in the Goodwill Industries during the day. He usually slept from 5 P. M. to 10 P. M., "catching up" with sleep on week ends.

Again things went well until the school vacation period between Christmas and New Year's Day, when he evidently had too much leisure time. He returned to the hospital on January 4, and spent a week there. After some difficulty he was re-instated in the training school and he worked along on an even keel and received his certificate from the school on March 21, being recommended as a lathe man. He got his certificate on a Saturday and on the following Monday he was drunk. Worker tried to persuade him to return to the hospital to take a course of "conditioning treatments," a new method which had been introduced into the hospital program since Mr. F's last visit there. Mr. F. wouldn't go, however. After his being on the streets for three days his sister came in and obtained a special officer to escort her while she took Mr. F. to the hos-

pital. A week later he was discharged without having had the conditioning treatments because he wouldn't agree to taking them.

Mr. F. then got along well for a month. However, he was turned down on a couple of machinist jobs because of his artificial leg. Then he got discouraged and didn't look for work very hard. Then he started drinking again. This time the worker made no attempt to persuade him to go to the hospital. He frankly told Mr. F. that the Seavey Settlement would do nothing for him until the spell had run its course. For almost three weeks Mr. F. lived on the street, sleeping mostly in vacant houses, eating little, drinking much. After a few days on his artificial leg his stump became so inflamed that he took his leg off and walked with a crutch. Worker was able to obtain his leg and save it for him. Worker saw Mr. F. on the street almost every day. He often asked the worker for a bed so he could get "just one night's sleep," but worker consistently refused on the grounds that he didn't appear to be ready to stop his drinking. Finally a day came when it was evident that Mr. F. had gone without a drink long enough to have a clear look in his eye. The worker accepted his simple statement that he was "off the stuff" and took him to a room in the Seavey Settlement where he remained for 36 hours. Mr. F. asked for soup and fruit juices which he said was what they fed him at the hospital when he was getting over a drunk.

In a few days his strength was back and a friend of the worker took Mr. F. to a machine shop where he was known and was able to place him in a job. At this writing, over two months later, Mr. F. is working at a better job and appears well adjusted. He is still living in the Seavey but the worker urges him to get a room in another section of the city. He agrees to this but has a line on a still better job and wants to postpone his moving until he learns just where he is going to be working.

Comments. It is hard to show all the process that went on in the handling of this case. The foreman of the department in which Mr. F. worked did some excellent supervising, both on his own initiative and in following out the suggestions of the worker. Mr. F's sister and the police department proved to be valuable aids, as did the Washingtonian Hospital. The worker believes his own part in the situation would have been more valuable if he had been a full time worker and had been "on the job" and available at certain strategic moments, as a full time case worker might have been, and if an attempt had been made to go more intensively into Mr. F's background in search of material that might have been of value in psychotherapy. It should also be noted here that all of Mr. F's hospital expense was advanced by Morgan Memorial and charged to his account on the Seavey Settlement books. He subsequently earned enough to offset all of that expense. During most of

the time covered in the above history he drew only a small amount of cash weekly, leaving most of his wages to the credit of his hospital expenses.

CHAPTER V

UNATTACHED HOMELESS MEN ON PAROLE AND PROBATION

From the beginning the Seavey Settlement has felt a responsibility toward men on parole and probation. For over twenty-five years a member of the Morgan Memorial staff has been chaplain at the Charles Street jail and often men come to the Seavey Settlement after having made the acquaintance of the chaplain at the jail, and learning of his connection with Morgan Memorial.

Parole and probation differ in both origin and history and in underlying philosophies. At one time criminals were killed, tortured, or sent to far away lands. The case was then closed. When prisons did finally arise as a place of temporary confinement in punishment for crimes committed there also arose a new problem, that of re-assimilating the convict after his release from prison. The ex-prisoner himself needed care, and the people demanded protection. Parole therefore arose from a dissatisfaction with a failing penal system.

Probation, on the other hand, arose from a dissatisfaction with the penitentiary as a punitive and corrective system. At first courts resorted to suspending a sentence providing the offender could post financial security that he would behave during the life of the sentence. But not all the con-

victed persons had money for such a guarantee, therefore the courts, in order to insure justice, began to place the man in the custody of a reliable person who was personally held responsible for the man on probation.

Thus one can see that probation is in itself a punishment, while parole is not. Probation comes after a man has been found guilty and it acts as a penalty in that it holds the offender in a carefully controlled situation as a substitute for prison. It is punishment because it removes some of the man's liberties. Parole, however, comes after a man has served his term in prison. He has been punished, and his parole comes as a reward for good behavior. It becomes for him a partial escape from punishment. Its purpose is prevention of further delinquency through a process of gradual release.

As far as the program of the Seavey Settlement is concerned the differences in the two processes as mentioned above do not preclude the possibility of considering the two functions as a single treatment process.

In neither case does the Seavey Settlement accept full responsibility for either the parolee or the probationer. The primary responsibility rests with the parole agent or the probation officer. However, the parole agent usually supervises his charges more closely than does the probation officer.

The parolee usually is referred to the Seavey Settlement by a prison aid society, such as the United Prison Asso-

ciation of Massachusetts, or makes his own application by writing from prison, usually with the statement that he is going to be up for parole on such and such a date and will be granted a parole if he can show that he has a home and a job to which he can go.

Those referred by the United Prison Association are usually men who are "over-due" with their paroles, but cannot be released until they have employment, and others are referred because it is believed they need a period of semi-institutional care to effect a transition between prison and normal living. Others have been discharged on parole but have lost their jobs or have misbehaved in some way that makes it desirable for them to be under supervision for another brief period. Clients referred in this manner are usually accepted without further investigation on the part of the Seavey Settlement. However, in cases where a direct application is received from a prisoner who is seeking his parole, a thorough investigation is made by consulting records at the Department of Correction and obtaining information from other sources, before a decision is made.

Another type of man in a measure related to the parolee and to the probationer is the man who has served a term in the Charles Street jail and is discharged at the end of his sentence. A few such come to the Seavey Settlement with the idea of "making a new start" and are sincerely anxious to do that

very thing. Others come to ask only for a night's lodging or a meal ticket to carry them until they can get work. Others need articles of clothing, such as a clean shirt, before they can get a job. Some come to the Seavey from the chaplain of the Charles Street jail, after they have gone to him for no other reason than to see if he was "a soft touch," that is, to see if he would give them money without any question as to specific need.

The regular parolee and probationer, however, have specific problems of readjustment. The fact that they need to come to the Seavey Settlement at all means that they are unattached, or have been rejected by their families, and thus are without the advantages of family ties which would speed up the re-adjustment process. In addition:

> The man who leaves a penal institution is like the man who leaves a hospital. The patient usually is cured but is weak and needs a convalescent period. When a man leaves a penal institution he is theoretically cured and in many respects is a better man than when he went in. But he is weak from the inertia, the routine, the dependence of institutional life. His determination is there, his willingness is there, his parole plan is there, but he has to gain his stride. His whole reaction process and his thinking have been slowed up, although not permanently or shockingly so.[1]

In some ways, however, the parolee has an easier time than the probationer. The parolee who comes directly to the Seavey Settlement from prison knows that he has a job and a

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1 Charles H. Meyer, "Treatment of Probationers and Parolees," 1941 Yearbook, National Probation Association, p.326

a place to live. He has been used to having his life planned for him in prison, so it is not hard for him to get used to the few rules which are necessary in the conduct of the Seavey program.

The probationer, on the other hand, has suddenly found himself before a court, has been made the subject of an investigation, has been placed on probation and finds he has to discipline himself quickly. He is usually without a job, perplexed, confused, striving desperately to adjust himself to a new situation without having had much of a chance to change.

How the Seavey Settlement has helped a parolee is shown in the case of W. R.

THE CASE OF W. R., A PAROLEE

Mr. R. was born in 1899, in Massachusetts. He has been the "black sheep" of a large family, other members of which are successful in business and in family life. He has been twice married and divorced. He was paroled after serving seven years of a 12-15 year sentence for armed robbery in the Massachusetts State Prison. Morgan Memorial agreed to furnish a home and a job. Mr. R's criminal history included eleven counts extending from 1919 to 1933. Excerpts from the referral letter of the United Prison Association follow: "Client makes friends quickly, is neat and bright looking. He is courteous and genial, but quite shallow. He fabricates with cleverness. . . He has an excellent estimate of himself, and

is hypercritically proud." His IQ was shown in the prison records to be 92.

Mr. R. had become interested in model boat making in prison and brought out with him a partly finished model of a schooner, upon which he worked for several weeks after coming to the Seavey Settlement. Mr. R. was assigned to work in the furniture repair department with the plan that if he learned to use power machines along with his knowledge of hand tools, he might be prepared to work in a furniture manufacturing job of some sort.

After Mr. R. had been working a few days it became apparent that he was trying to show the department head how to run the machines rather than learning himself. Considerable difficulty was in the making when the assistant supervisor of the Goodwill Industries came into the shop and happened to choose Mr. R. to work with him on a special project on which Mr. R. was responsible to him alone. The worker and the department foreman had previously talked over Mr. R's personality problems and felt that they understood him and could make allowances for his much talking in praise of himself, etc. However, Mr. R. persuaded the assistant supervisor to give him an immediate raise of pay over the protest of both the worker and the department foreman. A short time later the assistant supervisor became disgusted with the client and turned him back to the department head, who found supervision difficult under

the circumstances.

In addition to the problem arising out of his job, the client presented many problems in the Seavey building itself. He entertained friends in his room and served them drinks, although he knew it was against the rules of the house. He entertained young neighborhood boys in his room, innocently enough teaching them handicraft, and thought the worker unreasonable when the suggestion was made that the teaching be done in the regular workshop of the Children's Settlement. He started collecting money from other clients, presumably to buy lumber to make some tables for Christmas trade, and gave receipts signed: "-------Novelty Co., by_____, Treasurer. He didn't like to give the money back.

After six months in the Goodwill Industries Mr. R. had worked himself into such a position that the industrial office reported he could no longer be sent into the industries for employment. The worker had been preparing Mr. R. for that eventuality for some time, and had sent him out to interview prospective employers. However, Mr. R. had only half-heartedly tried to find other work and on more than one occasion had told the worker that he (the worker) must not have the right idea, because a certain other responsible party had assured him just to sit tight, that he was due to have a good job in the furniture repair shop.

When notified by the employment office that his ser-

vices in the Goodwill Industries were no longer desired, Mr. R. came immediately to the worker for an interpretation of the situation. He was relieved to learn that he wasn't going to be put out on the street and that the Seavey Settlement would aid him until he got work. He wasn't quite ready to do that yet, for he went to several other staff members with a story of not having had a fair deal. This resulted in a staff meeting for the discussion of his case, and a confirmation of the decision of the industrial office that he should no longer be employed.

The worker believes that all of this activity reflected a fear on the client's part to face the outside world on his own. The next step was to show him that he really could get a job and hold it if he wanted to. It took about two weeks of hard searching on his part and constant encouraging by the worker, but he did get a job in a plant where kitchen cabinets and similar articles were manufactured. He started at 75¢ per hour and when he moved out of the Seavey Settlement to a private room a month later his pay had been increased to $1.00 per hour. Later the worker received a letter profuse in its thanks for the help given by Morgan Memorial and apolegetic for all the "trouble" the client had caused the worker.

Comments. This client needed a semi-institutional life for a time in order to effect a transition between prison and normal living. It is likely that the job could not have

been done adequately in less than the six months it did actually did take. It was well, too, that the worker lived in the settlement, on the floor above the client's room, where gross irregularity of deportment would attract attention before serious difficulty arose. At times in this case it was important for the worker to maintain a professional attitude and not lose sight of the fact that it would probably be some time before the client would be ready to go into a job in some private industry.

THE CASE OF E. H., A PROBATIONER

Mr. H., born in 1903, was brought to the Seavey Settlement in 1941 by his mother and a friend who had known Morgan Memorial for several years. They were living in a nearby town. Mr. H. had been graduated from a law school but had failed to pass the bar examination. He then taught for a few years in high school, and then had started drinking. His wife divorced him and later died. During the last few years he has been arrested several times for drunkenness. In the last few months there had been a number of fires set in their home town and on the night of the most recent fire, Mr. H. was picked up by the police on suspicion of having set the fire. He expected to face the court sometime in the following month. His mother thought the Seavey Settlement might be able to help. Mr. H. himself was not at all sold on the idea but apparently realized

he was "on a spot."

Mr. H. was placed on the resident program and was used in various places in the Goodwill Industries, finally working regularly on one of the trucks. About a month later the worker accompanied him to court. There evidence was introduced which convinced the judge that the client had nothing to do with the fires, and only the charge of drunkenness was pressed. Mr. H. was sentenced to a year at Bridgewater and the sentence was suspended on condition that Mr. H. remain in the Seavey Settlement for a time.

While Mr. H. did some drinking during the time he stayed in the Seavey Settlement, he caused no real difficulty. On two occasions he accompanied officials of Morgan Memorial to various Morgan camps, where he spent a few days at odd jobs under close supervision. These jobs were assigned with a conscious recognition of their therapeutic value. They did seem to have an influence on his attitudes, and after one of his visits to his home his mother wrote that he "seems like my son once again."

However, he was not ready to give up alcohol. Every few nights he would drink and then go over to his fraternity house and spend the night there, instead of coming back to the Seavey Settlement. On the night of a Joe Louis prize fight, he had been drinking and was beaten up by three negroes while listening to the fight over a street radio. His scalp was cut and

his wrist was broken. That frightened him, but it didn't cure him.

After three months in the Seavey Settlement Mr. H. had made so many drunken visits to his fraternity house that its doors were closed to him. But he still persisted in drinking. The worker felt that the client had reached the point where he might be better off in Bridgewater than on the street (this was prior to the worker's knowledge of the Washingtonian Hospital as a resource) and he frankly told Mr. H. that he was writing a letter to the probation officer disclaiming any further responsibility. He advised Mr. H. to go at once to the probation officer and try to work out another plan, and to do that before the probation officer had him picked up.

It later developed that Mr. H. did do that very thing. The probation officer gave him permission to live with his mother and he found a job in a nearby city. Now, nine months later he is still working regularly and his mother occasionally calls at the Seavey Settlement to report that everything is going along well and that she is grateful for the help that was given.

Comments. When the worker wrote the letter to the probation officer disclaiming further responsibility for Mr. H., he felt that he was admitting failure. However, later events seemed to prove that effective work had already been done, and that the client had reached a point at which having

to stay in the atmosphere of the Seavey Settlement and the South End was real punishment to him, and he was seeking an escape in drinking. This case seems to show the importance of the worker's maintaining objectivity in his planning. Especially is it important for a worker in a program like that of the Seavey Settlement to realize that not all men will be inspired by the same thing.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER PROBLEMS OF UNATTACHED HOMELESS MEN

Among other problems faced by unattached homeless men are three additional types that will be illustrated here. These are problems of ill health, the problem of the physically handicapped (the crippled), and problems of those paroled from mental hospitals.

Ill Health. Sickness is a common immediate cause of dependency among the unattached homeless. Sometimes the indirect cause may be alcoholism, that is, a man may work regularly, but buys liquor instead of saving money for "a rainy day." Consequently just a few days illness may cost him his room and all of his belongings with it. Especially if he goes to the hospital for a few days he is apt to find himself in the street with no place to go upon his discharge. Another health problem in which alcoholism is a contributing factor is found in the situation of the man who gets hit by an auto, or injured in a fall, while drunk, and is later discharged from a hospital, unable to work and without a room in which to live.

However, in other cases ill health alone seems to be the chief cause for dependency, as illustrated in the two cases described below.

THE CASE OF W. W.

Mr. W. was born in New England in 1898. He had had a rather successful experience as a business man but had been divorced and had been living in a furnished room in a small town close to Boston, where he was office manager for a small manufacturing company. A week before he entered the Seavey Settlement he had been caught in a blizzard with his car and had suffered a heart attack while shoveling the car out of a snow drift. He spent a few days in the hospital and was then discharged with orders to do only very light work. He couldn't return to his job and didn't want to go back to his room. His car had practically no value.

Mr. W. was assigned to work in the office of the Seavey Settlement and was very competent. He suffered another heart attack about three months later, but recovered to such an extent that three months after that he was able to go on a job as building inspector for a large construction company. After another heart attack seemed imminent, about three months later, he gave up that work and returned to the Seavey Settlement where he worked regularly for a period of several months. He was referred to a private physician who laid down rules of conduct with regard to rest and smoking, which the client followed faithfully. A short time before this writing the client was accepted by an aircraft manufacturing company for work in an overseas project. He passed a very strict physical examination

given by the company, and later passed an even more stringent examination to get War Risk insurance.

THE CASE OF R. S.

Mr. S. was born in Massachusetts in 1898. He taught high school for ten years in New England. Three years prior to his coming to the Seavey Settlement he had been discharged from a teaching job because of indiscreet behavior. He had worked at various jobs since. At the time he entered the Seavey Settlement he had an ugly fungus infection on his face which had driven him to give up his last job. He had gone several days without food when he first applied and it was evident that asking for help was distasteful to him. He was a good typist and was assigned to work in an office where he needed to feel no embarrassment on account of his face or the salve which he was using. After his face cleared, plans for the future were discussed, and he was helped to accept the fact that in all probability he could never get another teaching job in a public school system on account of the conditions surrounding his discharge. He decided to take a civil service examination for the position of junior typist, which he passed. Nine months after entering the Seavey Settlement he went out to a civil service job and at the present time is senior clerk in charge of an office force of seven persons.

Comments. These two cases show that certain types of

health problems can be successfully dealt with in the Seavey Settlement, on an entirely individual basis. The fact that both of these men were trained to do work which they could do in spite of their illness, and the fact that the Seavey Settlement had these jobs available, made effective work possible.

The Physically Handicapped (the crippled). The original purpose of the Goodwill Industries was to assist the physically handicapped as well as other types of needy persons, and the Seavey Settlement does help some crippled persons. However, with the well organized Rehabilitation Division of the Department of Education functioning as it is, many crippled persons are able to enter upon a training program within the Goodwill Industries, financed in part by the state. It is unusual for such clients to live in the Seavey Settlement. However, the following case illustrates how the Seavey Settlement can serve a crippled man:

THE CASE OF F. H.

Mr. H. was born in Massachusetts in 1902. He was referred to the Seavey Settlement by the visiting nurse association in his home town, near Boston. Mr. H. had a mastoid in childhood which was followed by osteomyelitis of the temperomandibular joint with involvement of both hips. His jaws are locked and he pushes food into his mouth through a hole made by the removal of two teeth. His hips have a decided limitation of motion, knees being only one-half inch apart. He had

lived with his brothers and his father at various times during his life but for the past two years had been living with his father and step-mother, in a disreputable shack. Mr. H. slept in the loft of this shack and had to climb a ladder to get there, a hard task for him. His parents drank continually and on one occasion set the shack on fire. Thereafter, Mr. H. was afraid to go to sleep at night for fear he would be burned, so he would lie awake at night and try to sleep during the day when his parents were out. On several occasions his father, intoxicated, would order him out of the loft to get a pail of water or some stove wood, and on one occasion, impatient with Mr. H's slowness in getting down the ladder, pulled him off, causing him to fall to the floor and be badly bruised.

Upon entering the Seavey Settlement Mr. H. was sent to a general hospital for examination to see if surgery might relieve his crippled condition and to get a prognosis before any definite training program was started. The hospital believed it could help him and strongly advised surgery but Mr. H. refused to consider it and with that emotional block the hospital did not try to influence him.

Mr. H. was then assigned to work in the upholstery department of the Goodwill Industries where he adapted himself so well that the rehabilitation department approved his application for training. The six months training period is now about up and Mr. H. will be able to handle work in a commercial

shop if he wishes. However, he is living at Goodwill Lodge, the Seavey Settlement annex, and it is likely that he will continue in the Goodwill Industries upholstery shop.

Comment. A present objective in this case is to create a confidence on the part of Mr. H. so he will be willing to accept surgery, in the hope that it will relieve much of his crippled condition and enable him to enjoy a more normal life.

The Mentally Handicapped. From time to time the Seavey Settlement is approached by the social service departments of the various state hospitals who seek to place men on parole in surroundings where they can earn their own way and yet have some supervision. A number of these men have been accepted. They are required to remain on parole to the hospital for a year, and usually the hospital social worker visits each month. In these instances the Seavey Settlement does not assume the entire case work responsibility, but assumes more the role of employer and landlord. The case of Mr. E. S. will illustrate.

THE CASE OF E. S.

Mr. S. was 66 years old when he was referred to the Seavey Settlement by a state mental hospital. He had a wife and son in a nearby town, and although advised by the hospital not to visit them, did so on several occasions with apparently no friction developing between him and other members of the family. His hospital record showed that he had been admitted

first in 1924, when he was depressed, discouraged and talked of suicide. After a few months treatment he was discharged. In 1926 his periods of depression began again and he heard voices. He was committed again in 1928. He was very argumentative with regard to religious beliefs, and was much interested in Christian Science during the time he was at the hospital. While living in the Seavey Settlement he showed considerable interest in the religious meetings and spent a great deal of his time reading the Bible and Christian Science literature. Mr. S. was assigned to several jobs before he found one to his liking, and that was a job washing dishes and pots and pans prior to their being placed on sale in a Goodwill store. Once settled in this job, however, Mr. S. continued to make a good adjustment, and after eleven months on parole he was discharged unconditionally a month early so he could apply for Old Age Assistance. He is at the present writing still living in the vicinity of Morgan Memorial and is apparently happily adjusted to his present situation.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has shown that the men served by the Seavey Settlement, although usually in good health and not unlike an average group in education, religion, nationality and occupation, generally have personality difficulties that are reflected most often in the symptom of chronic alcoholism. Further, as shown in Table VI, the fact that so many have had marital difficulty and are now separated or divorced, and the fact that the others did not marry at all, are in themselves suggestive of abnormality. The study also shows that the Seavey Settlement, if adequately staffed, has resources to do effective case work with chronic alcoholic, as well as with the paroled ex-convict, the probationer, some types of sick men, the crippled, and paroled patients of state mental hospitals.

What conclusions may be drawn with regard to the advisability of supplementing the religious program of the Seavey Settlement with an adequate case work plan aimed at making full use of the plant of the Seavey Settlement and the resources available to it as a social agency?

The writer is not suggesting that a case work program should <u>supplant</u> the religious mission program. He is asking if it might not be wise to <u>supplement</u> the religious mission

program with an adequate case work plan.

Religious values have been important in all of the case work described above. They have been dominant, or inherent, in many specific measures; they have motivated the whole process.

There are those who wonder why the Seavey gospel services don't attract more men. In Chapter I it was pointed out that Dr. Helms, on his first day at Morgan chapel over 40 years ago, refused to feed the tramps in order to get an audience. It is interesting to note that today every Seavey gospel meeting is followed by refreshments in candid recognition of the fact that it is the only way an audience can be attracted to that kind of a meeting. Others point to the "old fashioned conversion" of years ago, wondering why it is not produced in the Seavey mission meeting of today.

The writer believes there may be many reasons why the type of man served by the Seavey Settlement doesn't experience an old fashioned conversion, but there is one reason that seems to be outstanding, and that is the emotional content of the old fashioned mission service is seldom attained today. Twenty-five or thirty years ago the men who were reached by the gospel mission led a pretty drab existence. Probably the only music they had a chance to hear was that in a gospel mission. Spirited singing and emotional preaching could set the stage for a response of high emotional pitch, and often the intensity

of the response was so great that a lasting impression was made upon the individual. Today the radio blares music into one's ears from all sides in hobohemia and in the lodging house district. It takes an unusual situation to result in the spectacular old fashioned conversion experience. The lack of such conversions in the Seavey Settlement is typical of the half dozen other missions in the South End.

Can it be that case work sometimes produces a "new fashioned conversion?" Take any of the cases that have been described in this study. Will a believer say that he thinks God discredits the results, because the conversion is obtained by a case work process rather than by a response to a spoken message in a public mission service?

Granted that the ultimate aim of all religious workers and all social workers is to make people "whole" again, the writer concludes that the Seavey Settlement should supplement its religious mission program with an adequate case work plan, in order that it may use its splendid plant and the many resources available to it as a social agency, in a program aimed at a "new fashioned conversion" through that modern process of individualized service called case work.

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